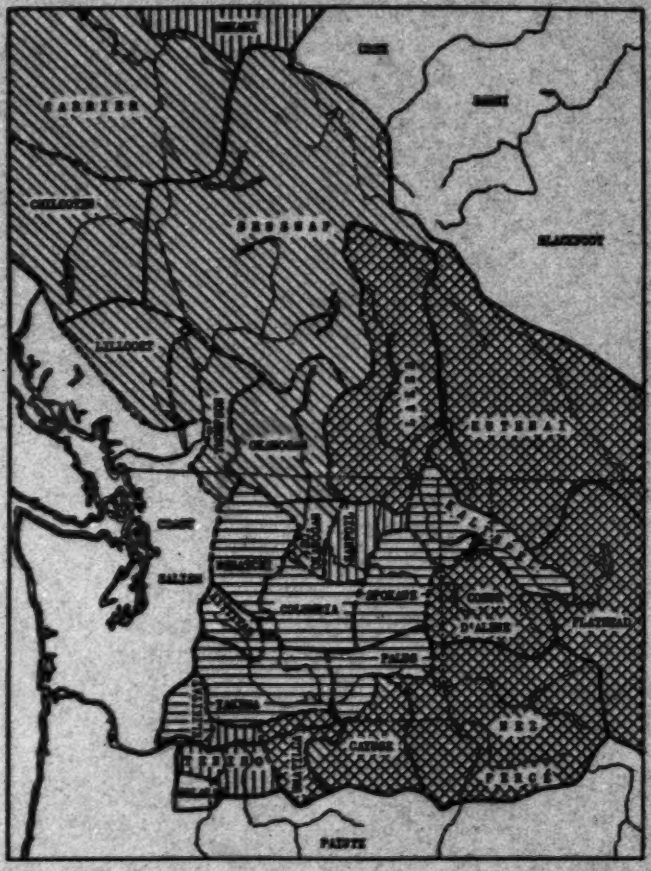
1: Ray. E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

village groups often came together to make up a war-party, but there is little evidence of close relationship in village groups in time of peace.

It would be more accurate to say that several villages were united to



MAP 2. Types of political organization. *Vertical hatching:* strict local autonomy; *diagonal hatching:* small bands of villages; *horizontal hatching:* local autonomy with slight tribal tendency; *cross hatching:* tribal organization.

form the tribe, rather than that the tribe was divided. Indeed, mere common action in war is hardly a basis for postulating tribal unity, but Spinden adds:

The council consisted of the chiefs and the old men. There was a village

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

619
623

council which helped the chief in administering justice, and a tribal council which met to discuss intervillage matters and affairs of peace and war.[16]

101
619

Cayuse organization runs closely parallel to that of the Nez Percé, while the Flathead go one step further in emphasizing a tribal chief. In no one of these groups is the proper tribal unit that to which the name is applied. Rather, each area so designated, as on the accompanying maps, includes several tribes of common culture. The Nez Percé, for example, is actually an ethnic grouping including several politically independent tribes, which in turn are made up of many villages enjoying considerable political power. The specific identities and territories of these tribes remain yet to be ascertained for all three groups mentioned. Despite impressions to the contrary, this can yet be done.

The Coeur d'Alêne differ in retaining greater power in the village, designating less to the tribe. Like the preceding, Coeur d'Alêne is an ethnic unit, in this case consisting of three tribal groups, one on upper Coeur d'Alêne and Hayden Lakes, a second on the Coeur d'Alêne River, and the third on the St. Joe River.

In contrast, the Umatilla villages form a single tribe. In fact, very nearly the entire population often gathers at a single village at the mouth of the Umatilla River, particularly in the winter. The Kutenai, too, form a single tribe though the villages are decentralized. However, the Kutenai Sun Dance is a tribal affair and brings the entire tribe together each summer.

Tribal organization among the Lakes seems to rest on a somewhat unique basis. A large dominant village, near the present site of Marcus, suggests a parallel with the Umatilla. But whereas Umatilla unity is obviously the result of Plains influence, other factors appear more important with the Lakes. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupy a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travel in circuits, making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they are effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. A habitat of such a nature is obviously inimical to Plains culture; and in fact the Lakes have accepted almost nothing from that area. Thus the geographical proximity to the Plains should not be overemphasized, though it must not be disregarded.

[177]

[16] Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, pp. 242 f.

3; Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

into higher units, and where even a town is not conceived as an essential unit."[32] Discussing the Klamath of southern interior Oregon, Dr. Leslie Spier says that, "The identity of these [Klamath] groups resolves itself solely into aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole."[33] Speaking more generally, Dr. Spier observes that, "Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district."[34] Dr. Spier makes a similar statement with specific reference to the Wishram of the Columbia river Dalles.[35] Dr. Jacobs has informed me that all of the peoples of the mid-coast of Oregon likewise observed strict village autonomy.

East of the Columbia Basin in central Idaho somewhat different conditions prevailed. There is no question but that tribal organization was present among the Nez Perce since a tribal council whose decisions were binding upon all members of the group was coupled with an elective war chief of wide powers. Yet even here each village had its individual peace time chief with authority limited to his own village and during peace there was little relationship among villages.[36] Among the Cayuse and Umatilla west of the Nez Perce, and the Coeur d'Alene to the north, political organization was somewhat similar. Particularly noticeable was the recognition of tribal chiefs on the basis of war records and especial emphasis on tribal sol-

[32] A. L. Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1925), LXXVII, 830.

[33] Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* (Berkeley, 1930), XXX, 22.

[34] *Ibid.*, 309.

[35] Spier, "Wishram Ethnography," 160.

[36] Herbert J. Spinden, "The Nez Percé Indians," in *Memoir, American Anthropological Association* (Lancaster, Pa., 1908), II, 242-43.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

sions, and that they are guided at night by the polar star.[173] 487

War chiefs are elected for their bravery and past success, having full authority in all expeditions, marching at the head of their forces, and, especially among the Flatheads, maintaining the strictest discipline, even to the extent of inflicting flagellation on insubordinates. With the war their power ceases, yet they make no effort by partiality during office to insure re-election, and submit without complaint to a successor. Except by the war chiefs no real authority is exercised. The regular chieftainship is hereditary so far as any system is observed, but chiefs who have raised themselves to their position by their merits are mentioned among nearly all the nations. The leaders are always men of commanding influence and often of great intelligence. They take the lead in haranguing at the councils of wise men, which meet to smoke and deliberate on matters of public moment. These councils decide the amount of fine necessary to atone for murder, theft, and the few crimes known to the native code; a fine, the chief's reprimand, and rarely flogging, probably not of native origin, are the only punishments; and the criminal seldom attempts to escape. As the more warlike nations have especial chiefs with real power in time of war, so the fishing tribes, some of them, grant great authority to a 'salmon chief' during the fishing-season. But the regular inland

624 622 623 681 622 624

[173] In calculating time the Okanagans use their fingers, each finger standing for ten; some will reckon to a thousand with tolerable accuracy, but most can scarcely count to twenty. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 324. The Flatheads 'font néanmoins avec précision, sur des écorces d'arbres ou sur des peaux le plan, des pays qu'ils ont parcourus, marquant les distances par journées, demi-journées ou quarts de journées.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Count years by snows, months by moons, and days by sleeps. Have names for each number up to ten; then add ten to each; and then add a word to multiply by ten. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 242. Names of the months in the Pisquouse and Salish languages beginning with January;—'cold, a certain herb, snow-gone, bitter-root, going to root-ground, camass-root, hot, gathering berries, exhausted salmon, dry, house-building, snow.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 211. 'Mensem computant lunis, ex spkaní, *sol* vel *luna* et dies per feriæ. Hebdomadam unicam per splchákat, *septem dies*, plures vero hebdomadas per s'chaxéus, id est, *vexillum* quod a duce maximo qualibet die dominica suspendebatur. Dies autem in novem dividitur partes.' *Mengarini, Grammatica Linguæ Sellosæ*, p. 130; *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 270; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 274.

805 802 805